



Demofonte: A Luso-Brazilian Pastiche?

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Abstract

Description and brief analysis of the manuscripts catalogued as G-Prática 51b in the Musical Archive of the Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa, Portugal. Identification of authorship and sources of 11, out of the 12 or 13 numbers that comprise the set, titled *Demofonte* [sic]. Discussion on the casting and order of numbers of two possible performances in Rio de Janeiro during the 1780s and 1790s. Further considerations on the use of the term “pastiche” in the context of eighteenth-century Luso-Brazilian theater.

Keywords: *Demofonte*; eighteenth-century opera; Portugal; Brazil; pastiche; Pedro Antonio Pereira; Vila Viçosa.

Resumo

Descrição e breve análise do conjunto de manuscritos catalogado como G-Prática 51b do Arquivo Musical do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa, Portugal. Identificação de autoria e fontes de 11 dos 12 ou 13 números que compõem o conjunto, intitulado *Demofonte* [sic]. Discussão quanto à possível disposição dos números e cantores em duas apresentações no Rio de Janeiro durante as décadas de 1780 e 1790. Considerações adicionais quanto ao uso do termo “pastiche” no contexto das práticas teatrais luso-brasileiras durante o século XVIII.

Palabras-chave: *Demofonte*; ópera; século XVIII; Portugal; Brasil; pastiche; Pedro Antonio Pereira; Vila Viçosa

Among the works of the musical archive of the Duke of Braganza that David Cranmer identified as having been copied and/or used in Rio de Janeiro from the 1770s to the 1820s, one item offers a particularly complex set of challenges. In 1989, José Augusto Alegria identified the material contained under entry G-Prática 51 as “*Demofonte*, by Marcos Portugal,” adding that “the name of the author does not appear in any of the papers.”¹ In the 2005 catalogue that accompanies the microfilm collection of the musical archive,² Cranmer stated that there was nothing of Marcos

¹ José Augusto Alegria, *Biblioteca do Paço Real de Vila Viçosa: Catálogo dos Fundos Musicais* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian, 1989), 174. The cover page of the vocal section of G-Prática 51b does bear a late inscription with the question “Será de Marcos Portugal?” maybe by Alegria himself.

² The collaboration between the Gale Group and two of the most important music libraries of Portugal resulted in the microfilming of a large corpus of music that once belonged to royal institutions and individual members of the Portuguese royal family. Series two and three of the collection *European Music Manuscripts* comprise more than five hundred microfilm reels containing sixteenth to nineteenth-century secular and sacred music, now held at the Ajuda Library in Lisbon (Series two) and the Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa (Series three). Caroline

Portugal in that specific item, explaining that it comprised two sets, one belonging to Cimarosa's *I Due Baroni di Rocca Azzurra* (which features a character named Don Demofonte) and another to a pastiche setting of *Demofonte*, with Metastasio's text "much altered."³ The second set, identified as *Demofonte* [sic] on its first page and in small annotations on the top right corner of many of its pages, belonged, still according to Cranmer, to a group of "local pastiche versions of operas to texts by Metastasio (by this point extremely distant from what Metastasio actually wrote)." Although in more recent works Cranmer detailed many of his groundbreaking findings on a number of issues pertaining the production and uses of the musical holdings of Vila Viçosa, Portugal, his claim that *Demofonte* was a pastiche still needed demonstration. He finished his 2012 book chapter with an inciting assessment: "As for the remaining 'questions,' they constitute a challenge for the future."⁴ Accepting this challenge, the present article describes the manuscript source of *Demofonte*, identifies the sources of most of its numbers, examines how far these numbers depart from Metastasio's texts, suggests different ways in which the work could have been put together for performances in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, and considers whether this work was indeed a *pasticcio* or an aggregate of arias once performed within a Portuguese spoken play.

Portuguese acting, Italian singing

An often-quoted passage of Bougainville's travel book provides a rare insight into the nature of the repertory that used to be performed at the opera house of Rio de Janeiro in the 1760s. As Bougainville recounted, upon the viceroy's request, he attended a performance of some of "the best works of Metastasio," by "a band of mulattoes," along with "the divine composition[s] of the great Italian masters, executed by an orchestra which was under the direction of a hump-backed priest, in his canonicals."⁵

It should not come as a surprise that Rio's elite was interested in Italian opera. The city had just been promoted to viceregal seat, and its citizens and administrators were trying hard to emulate Lisbon as a model of civilization. When the subject was opera, Lisbon itself turned its eyes and ears to Italy. Yet, without direct royal support, there was no way Rio could imitate the royal theaters, with their overpaid castrati and a first-rank Neapolitan composer in residence. A solution was to find

Kimbell and David Cranmer were the musical editors of each project, respectively. Manuel Carlos de Brito also collaborated in the Ajuda project.

³ David Cranmer, *European Music Manuscripts. Series Three: From the Biblioteca do Paço Ducal de Vila Viçosa* (Reading, London: Primary Source Microfilm / Thomson Gale, 2005), 8, 23.

⁴ David Cranmer, "O repertório músico-teatral na Casa da Ópera do Rio de Janeiro, 1778 a 1813," in *Atualidade da Ópera*, edited by Maria Alice Volpe (Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 2012), 155-162, at 161.

⁵ "We saw, in a tolerable handsome hall, the best works of Metastasio represented by a band of mulattoes; and heard the divine composition[s] of the great Italian masters, executed by an orchestra, which was under the direction of a hump-backed priest, in his canonicals." *A Voyage Round the World Performed by Order of His Most Christian Majesty, in the years 1766, 1767, 1768, and 1769 by Lewis de Bougainville* (London: J. Nourse, 1772), 75; translated from the first French edition by John Reinhold Forster. The second French edition qualifies the orchestra as *mauvais*, an adjective that appears in all subsequent editions and in most quotes of this passage.

models in the popular theatrical culture of Lisbon, with its more democratic translations and adaptations. One of those practices consisted of adapting Italian, French, and Spanish operas and comedies—or producing derivative works—and delivering them as spoken plays interspersed with musical numbers. This genre, if we may call it such, also had links with contemporaneous Spanish developments and local puppet-theater productions. It formed the basis of the repertory of Lisbon's Teatro do Bairro Alto after the mid 1750s, and was soon exported to the colony.

While Manuel Carlos de Brito provided some accounts of locally composed music being used in these productions,⁶ extant musical sources reveal a more widespread practice of using Italian music, either translated or performed in the original language. This was an effective way of establishing a connection with the repertory of the royal theaters while still providing a theatrical experience that was accessible to the regular urban theatergoer, not necessarily an aristocrat or a wealthy bourgeois. For this matter, it was essential to reduce the number of Italian arias, to include secondary numbers in the intermissions and after the *ópera* or *comédia*, and to add a comic dimension to the main play, partly improvised and sometimes alluding to current events and local figures. It is highly probable that this was the type of spectacle that Bougainville witnessed in Rio de Janeiro. Two years before Bougainville's visit, in June-July 1765, the recently appointed Governor of São Paulo mentioned the staging of *Dido desprezada*, *Siro reconhecido*, *Alexandre na Índia*, *Olimpíada*, and *Adriano na Síria*, apparently in the same theater, all with "excellent music and dances."⁷ The documented repertory of Lisbon's Bairro Alto in the late 1760s and Oporto's Teatro do Corpo da Guarda in the 1770s, as well as virtually everything that we know about theatrical practices in eighteenth-century Brazil strongly suggests that the 1765 Rio productions were *óperas ao gosto português*, not full-fledged Metastasian *opere serie*. However, as documented by a number of librettos and other records from about the same time, Lisbon's popular theaters also produced vernacular versions of Italian operas and *pasticcio* settings, translated or not.⁸ We still know little about eighteenth-century *pasticcio* settings in Portugal, and even less so in Brazil. So, when in 1805 Tuckey mentioned that in tragedies, comedies, and operas represented in Rio de Janeiro, "the dialogue [was] in Portuguese, but the words and music of the songs [were] Italian,"⁹ he could have been referring to a range of practices, from *óperas ao gosto português* to *pasticci* with spoken dialogues in lieu of *secco* recitatives.

⁶ Manuel Carlos de Brito, *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 83, 107.

⁷ *Derrota que fez o Exmo. Sr. D. Luiz Antonio de Souza, 1765-1776*. Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional, Manuscritos, 21,04,14-16. *Derrota q. fes do Porto da Cidade de Lix.a para a do Rio de Jan.ro O Ex.mo S.r D. Luiz Antonio de Souza Botelho Mouraõ*. Vila Real, Acervo da Casa de Mateus, MSS 991.01-02. See also Rui Vieira Nery, "E lhe chamam uma nova corte," *As músicas luso-brasileiras no final do Antigo Regime* (Lisbon: Gulbenkian, 2008), 255-332, at 276.

⁸ For example, *Didone: dramma per musica. Da rappresentarsi nel nobil Teatro del Bairro Alto di Lisbona, La State dell'anno 1765* [. . .] *La Musica è la maggior parte del celebre Sig. David Perez* [. . .] e d'altri eccellenti Autori (Lisbon: s.l., 1765).

⁹ James Kingston Tuckey, *An account of a voyage to establish a colony at Port Philip* (London: Longman, 1805), 52-53.

In Vila Rica, Captaincy of Minas Gerais, an inventory of the music library of Florencio Ferreira Coutinho, prepared after his death in 1819 and studied in detail by Paulo Castagna, corroborates this scenario of adaptations and assemblages.¹⁰ It lists a number of musical scores of Italian arias by such composers as Galuppi, De Majo, Anfossi, Piccini, Traetta, Sacchini, Perez, and Avondano. With the exception of one act of *O Mundo da Lua*, by an anonymous composer, these were all loose arias, ready to be used in a variety of settings. Additionally, the inventory provides the title of several Portuguese songs or arias, such as “Querida Aspásia,” from a Portuguese adaptation of *Temistocle*, the *gracioso* aria “O menino quer nanar,” from a local setting of *Demofonte em Trácia*, and “Ninguém desmaie,” from the *Entremez do Caçador* by playwright, actor, and singer Pedro Antonio Pereira.

Well known as Pedrinho, Pedro Antonio Pereira moved to Brazil in the mid 1780s accompanied by his daughter Rita—whom Adriano Balbi described as being perfect in choleric and violent roles.¹¹ According to Sousa Bastos, Pedrinho “was called to Rio de Janeiro, where he organized the Portuguese theater, making actors out of amateurs.”¹² For this purpose, he certainly took with him several of his plays and musical scores. Before embarking for Brazil, Pedrinho had worked as a *comico*—meaning actor-singer-dancer—at the Bairro Alto during the 1750s and 60s. In 1767 he and his wife (this is how she was identified in the payment records) signed a contract to “represent and dance” in a cast that included the sisters Cecilia and Luisa Rosa de Aguiar (Luisa Todi) and Antonio José de Paula, another actor-playwright with a Brazilian connection.¹³ With this company, Pedrinho played the title role in a Portuguese translation of Molière’s *Tartuffe* in 1768.¹⁴ This was a high-profile gig, as the translation had been commissioned by none other than the Secretary of State, Sebastião José de Carvalho. With Luisa Todi, he also sang Piccini’s *L’Incognita Perseguitata* and Scolari’s *Il Viaggiatore Ridicolo*, both in 1770, and two years later, at Oporto’s Teatro do Corpo da Guarda, he played Timante in David Perez’s *Demofonte*, while also performing in the *balli*. In 1782 he was back in Lisbon, singing and dancing in Sousa Carvalho’s *Testoride Argonauta* at the Queluz Theater.¹⁵ Yet, Pedrinho was not an exceptional singer. As Manuel Carlos de Brito has shown, Alexandre Antonio de Lima harshly criticized his rendition of Aquila in a 1755 puppet-theater production of *Achilles em Sciro* at the Bairro Alto. And referring to a 1771 performance of Scolari’s *Il bejglieber di Caramania*, the French officer Gaubier de Barrault mordantly remarked that “everything has pleased in this opera,

¹⁰ Paulo Castagna, “Uma análise paleoarquivística da relação de obras do arquivo musical de Florêncio José Ferreira Coutinho,” in *Anais do VI Encontro de Musicologia Histórica* (Juiz de Fora: Centro Cultural Pró-Música, 2006), 38-84.

¹¹ Adriano Balbi, *Essai statistique sur le royaume de Portugal et d’Algarve Comparé aux Autres États de l’Europe* (Paris: Rey et Gravier, 1822), v. 2, ccxxii.

¹² Antonio Sousa Bastos, *Diccionario do Theatro Portuguez* (Lisbon: Libanio da Silva, 1908), 176.

¹³ “Contas do principio do Theatro da Caza da Opera do Bairro Alto dos annos de 1761 e 1762 e 1763 1764 e 1765 athe Julho de 1766 1761-1770.” Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, Reservados, cód. 7178, f. 25.

¹⁴ *Tartuffo, ou O Hypocrita, Comedia do Senhor Moliere, Traduzida em vulgar pelo Capitão Manoel de Sousa para se representar no Theatro do Bairro Alto* (Lisbon: Joseph da Silva Nazareth, 1768).

¹⁵ Mário Moreau, *Cantores de Ópera Portugueses* (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1981), v. 1, 56-70. Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 70, 86-88, 114.

even Pedro.”¹⁶ During all those years, Pedro Antonio Pereira wrote several plays, which remained in the repertory of popular theaters well into the nineteenth century. By December 1793 he was engaged in Brazilian productions, calling himself *comico do Rio de Janeiro* and having his translation of *O Mágico de Salerno*, dating from his Bairro Alto years, performed at the new *casa da ópera* of Rio de Janeiro, in a spectacle celebrating the Queen’s birthday. In Rio’s *casa da ópera*—also known as Teatro de Manuel Luiz, after its manager Manuel Luiz Ferreira—he joined a mixed cast of singers, reshaping a company that was still active upon the arrival of the Portuguese court, although at that point he was no longer around. The names Pedro and Pedro Antonio appear in five of the thirteen numbers of *Demofonte*, while all but one of the remaining numbers were assigned to other singers of Rio’s *casa da ópera*. As David Cranmer has observed¹⁷

In the manuscript of *Demofonte*, a pastiche, with the text only partially by Metastasio, we find the names of Sra. Joaquina (Joaquina Lapinha), Sr. Manoelinho (Manuel Rodrigues da Silva), Sr. Pedro (Pedro António Pereira), Sra. Paula, Sra. Luísa, and a certain Sra. Ignacia, not mentioned by Meneses.

In his mid-nineteenth-century memoir, Manuel Joaquim de Meneses recalled that Antonio Nascentes Pinto organized this cast around 1790 under direct orders from the Viceroy.¹⁸ Also an 1859 anonymous newspaper article¹⁹ and Moreira de Azevedo’s chronicles of early Rio mentioned these singers in connection with the Teatro de Manuel Luiz, which operated between 1776 and 1813.²⁰ From there, these names were replicated on a number of studies on theater in colonial Brazil, all published during the twentieth century.²¹ None of these works mentions Sra. Ignacia, but her name does appear in a now-unavailable copy of *Zara*, a tragedy performed in Rio in 1778, as stated in Otto Henry’s 1966 description of this source.²² Not mentioned by Cranmer is Sra. Rosinha, whose name appears in a basso part of “Se il ciel me divide,” from Sarti’s *Alessandro nell’Indie*, the eighth number in *Demofonte*.²³

¹⁶ Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 83, 88.

¹⁷ Cranmer, *O repertório músico-teatral*... 157.

¹⁸ Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Histórico do Museu Histórico Nacional, L.4, P.2, n.20: Manuel Joaquim de Meneses, *Companhias líricas no Teatro do Rio de Janeiro antes da chegada da Corte Portuguesa em 1808* [c1850]. Transcription in Rogério Budasz, *Teatro e Música na América Portuguesa* (Curitiba: DeArtes UFPR, 2008), 248-9.

¹⁹ “Opera Nacional” *O Espelho* 6 (9 October 1859): 6-7, and 7 (16 October 1859): 8. These two chronicles are suspiciously similar to the memoirs of Manuel Joaquim de Meneses.

²⁰ Manuel Duarte Moreira de Azevedo, “Theatro S. Pedro de Alcantara,” *Arquivo Municipal* (23 October 1862), 4; *O Rio de Janeiro, sua história, monumentos, homens notáveis* (Rio de Janeiro: Garnier, 1877), v. 2, 141.

²¹ For example Múcio da Paixão, *O Theatro no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Brasília Editora, 1936 [1917]), 27; Galante de Sousa, *O Teatro no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1960), v. 1, 113.

²² Belo Horizonte, Acervo Curt Lange, 10.3.16.04. Francisco Curt Lange, unpublished list of numbers and characters in *Dido Abandonada*, *Zara*, and *Ezio em Roma* (these sources are currently unavailable).

²³ Nicknamed Rosinha Feitiço, she was a local celebrity in the early 1780s, as recounted by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo in the sixth chapter of his *Memórias da Rua do Ouvidor* (Rio de Janeiro: Perseverança, 1878), 85-99.

Assembling and reassembling

The material that is grouped under the title *Demofonte* (G-Prática 51b) comprises 100 folios. (See Appendix 1.) It is divided in scrapbooks for violin 1, violin 2, voice (in Italian), oboes, horns, and bass. Additional folios (at least 4 in G-Prática 117a, 2 in 117c and 5 in 117d) contain excerpts of the basso, viola, and trumpet parts. Appendix 1 lists the main musical features and sources of each number; the musical incipits would allow the reader to perform further searches and comparisons. Up to three names of singers appear in some pages, some of them crossed out, and some pages bear the title of an alternative production. The set shows signs of being used at least two times as a *Demofonte pasticcio*, with a different performance order and a slightly different cast. Some numbers were also used in previous settings of *Eneas e Lavínia*, *Demetrio*, *Eurene*, *Ilha deserta*, and possibly *Esposa Persiana*. (See Table 1.)

Demofonte was assembled with arias and *obbligato* recitatives by Anfossi, De Majo, Guglielmi, Jommelli, Marescalchi, Perez, Sarti, and Traetta. None of these names appear anywhere in G-Prática 51b. In order to identify the original numbers I took advantage of the RISM search engine (www.rism.info), with its search-by-incipit capability, while also researching the musical holdings of the Ajuda Library and Vila Viçosa Palace Archive, partly available through the Gale-Cengage microfilm collection *European Music Manuscripts* (series two and three).

The vocal parts of *Demofonte* are all in Italian, but some of the instrumental parts bear a Portuguese incipit. For example, De Majo's aria "Ah torto spergiuro," from *Antigono*, has its complete Italian text in the vocal score, but the instrumental parts bring a Portuguese incipit ("Sem causa me xama"). Additionally, the crossed-out title *Demetrio* appears on the left side and the new title *Demofonte* on the top right corner. (See Figure 1.) This aria is identified as *P.ra Cantoria*—roughly translated as first singing event—but is the last number in all scrapbooks. Although the complete Portuguese text is unavailable, it seems to have been more a translation than a contrafactum, since there is a correspondence between the Italian verses *ah torto spergiuro quel labbro mi dice* and the Portuguese line *sem causa me chama*. The same can be said about all other arias bearing a Portuguese incipit.

No local composer, neither in Lisbon nor in Rio, was needed for this production, as the few adaptations could have been done by the theater's *mestre de música*. Among the most dramatic changes, De Majo's aria "Sono in mar" was transposed a tone lower. Playing the role of Timante, Pedrinho was a versatile singer. Even though he could perform in the soprano and alto ranges,²⁴ a sustained high c at measures 64 and 65 was probably too much for him, hence the need for a transposition. Another number assigned to him, "Figlia, qualor ti miro," from Jommelli's *Ifigenia in Aulide*, is in the alto range. The Museu da Música de Mariana, Minas Gerais, holds a late-eighteenth-century fragment of this aria.

²⁴ Other numbers assigned to him are "Olà porgetemi" ($e^1 - a^2$), "Misero me" ($eb^1 - g^2$), "Misero pargoletto" ($e^1 - a^2$), and "Figlia qualor ti miro" ($e - e^2$).

Table 1: Tentative genealogy of Demofonte (P-VV G-Prática 51, 117a, 117d)

text incipit	singer	source	previous use	Demofonte	
				early	late
First Act					
Me infelice / Ah si fugga	Sra. Joaquina	Anfossi, <i>L'Incognita Perseguitata</i> 2/7		12	1
Olà porgetemi un ferro (Olá progetime)	Sr. Pedro	Marescalchi, <i>Il Ciarlone</i>		2	2
Oimè! qual fredda mano / Si soffre una tiranna (Sofrer huma tirana)	Sr. Manoelinho, Sra. Ignacia	Traetta, <i>Zenobia</i> 3/7		3	3
Padre perdona oh pene	Sra. Joaquina Sra. Ignacia	Unidentified, <i>Demofoonte</i> 1/12		4	4
Second Act					
Vi conosco amate stelle	Sr. Manoelinho	Traetta, <i>Zenobia</i> 1/19		?	5
Oimè ch'intesi mai / Là nel torbido fiume di Lete	Sra. Luiza, Sra. Paula, Sra. Joaquina	Jommelli, <i>Il Creso</i> 1/13		6	[6]
Misero me qual gelido torrente	Sra. Joaquina, Sr. Pedro	De Majo, <i>Demofoonte</i> 3/4	Eurene	5a	[7a]
Sono in mar	Sr. Pedro	De Majo, <i>Demofoonte</i> 3/4 (text from <i>Nitteti</i> 1/1)		7	[7b]
Dircea che fai	Sra. Joaquina	Sarti, <i>Alessandro nell'Indie</i> 2/10		?	8a
Se il ciel me divide	Sra. Rozinha Sra. Joaquina	Sarti, <i>Alessandro nell'Indie</i> 2/10		5b	8b
Sposo; Consorte / La destra ti chiedo (Eneas; Princeza)		Guglielmi, <i>Demofoonte</i> 2/11	<i>Enéas e Lavínia</i>	?	9
Third Act?					
Ah torto spergiuro (Sem causa me xama)	Sra. Joaquina	De Majo, <i>Antigono</i> 1/3	<i>Demétrio, Eurene</i>	1	10
Figlia qualor ti miro	Sr. Pedro	Jommelli, <i>Ifigenia in Aulida</i> 2/4		11	[11]
Misero pargoletto (Mizero amado filho)	Sr. Pedro	Perez, <i>Demofoonte</i> 3/5		?	[12]
Coro (Em dia ditoso)		Unidentified	<i>Inconstancias da Fortuna, Eurene</i>	13	[13]

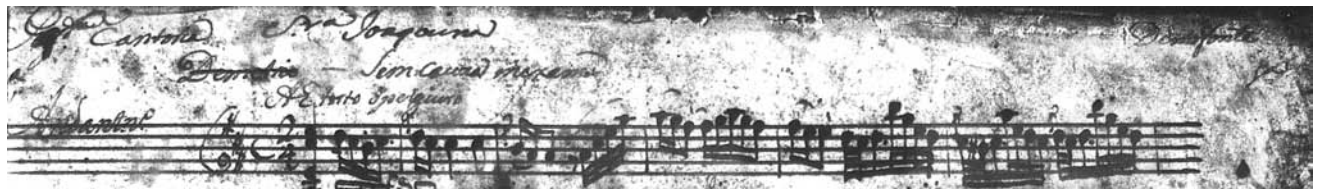


Figure 1: Detail of De Majo's aria "Ah torto spergiuro," vln. 1. P-VV, G-Prática 51b [f. 26r].

Playing Dircea, the Brazilian mezzo-soprano Joaquina Lapinha performed two of the most demanding arias of the set, "Padre perdona (range $c^1 - ab^2$), of which I was unable to identify the source, and the above-mentioned "Ah torto spergiuro" ($f\sharp^1 - b^2$). She also sang Anfossi's recitative and aria "Me infelice che sento / Ah si fugga non ardisco" ($eb^1 - ab^2$), De Majo's *obbligato* recitative "Misero me" ($eb^1 - g^2$), and Sarti's aria "Se il ciel me divide," which was transposed down a minor third (from $f^1 - c^3$ to $d^1 - a^2$). The most intriguing example of text reworking in *Demofonte*, the recitative and aria "Dircea che fai / Se il ciel me divide" was based on a setting of *Alessandro nell'Indie* that Sarti prepared in 1766 for a performance in Padua. The score made it to the Portuguese Royal Library, from where it may have been copied and inserted on a *pasticcio* setting already in Portugal, before crossing the Atlantic. In this specific passage, Sarti's version departs considerably from Metastasio's text published in his *opera omnia*, and both differ from Vinci's first setting in 1729. Sarti expanded Cleofide's monologue (2/6) with words and ideas from her previous dialogues with Poro and Gandarte. From Sarti's *Alessandro* to the multi-authored *Demofonte* the only additional modification was replacing the name Cleofide with Dircea. (See Table 2.)

Likewise, Guglielmi's duet of Dircea and Timante had a parallel life in a Portuguese version of *Enéas e Lavínia*. As seen in the violin parts, the vocal line was submitted to minor changes, dictated by the Portuguese prosody, such as the addition of a note at the opening of the recitative, where the original two-syllable word *spo-so* [59v, 93v] was replaced with *E-ne-as* [19r] in *Enéas e Lavínia*—where the rest that was replaced by a quarter note is still visible—and presumably *es-po-so* [43r] in a Portuguese rendition of *Demofonte*. (See Figure 2.)

Before Joaquina Lapinha, another *cômica* of Rio de Janeiro used to play the role of Dircea. Rosinha, of whom we only know the first name, also sang Sarti's aria "Se il ciel me divide" a third lower, which suggests that the transposition was not motivated by Lapinha's vocal shortcomings.

After Pedrinho, another male singer of Rio's *casa da ópera* and the *Capela Real* was Manoel Rodrigues Silva. He was also lieutenant of a local militia and is identified in several scores in Vila Viçosa as Sr. Manoelinho or Sr. Manoel Roiz. As seen in the two arias assigned to him, "Si soffre una tiranna" ($d^1 - g^2$) and "Vi conosco amate stelle" ($d^1 - g^2$), his preferred range was that of a mezzo-soprano, which confirms the regular practice of *false* singing among male singers of the Teatro de Manuel Luiz, while also illustrating a common overlapping between music practices of church and theater. Since these two arias were sung by the character Tiridate, in *Zenobia*, we can assume that Manoelinho performed a male role in *Demofonte*, probably the emperor himself.

Table 2: Three versions of the recitative that precedes the aria “Se il ciel me divide.”

Vinci, <i>Alessandro nell’Indie</i> (1729), I-Nc Rari 7.3.11	Sarti, <i>Alessandro nell’Indie</i> (1766), P-La 47-V-3 e 4	Demofonte, P-VV G-Prática 51b
<p>2/6 CLEOFIDE: Mio ben. PORO: Lasciami. CLEOF.: Oh Dio .. sentimi .. Dove fuggi? [...] PORO: Cleofide che fai! Fermati .. oh Dei CLEOF.: Che vuoi? Perché m’arresti adorato tiranno! È di mia sorte la pietà che ti muove, o ti compiacci di vedermi ogn’istante mille volte morir? [...] 2/14 [...] CLEOF.: A che fuggir? Qual danno mi resta da temer? Lo sposo, il Regno misera già perdei; si perda ancora la vita che m'avanza, dov'è più di periglio, ho più speranza.</p> <p><i>Se il ciel mi divide</i> [&c.]</p>	<p>2/10 CLEOFIDE: Cleofide che fai! Perché t’arresti, perche non fuggi! e dove aimè! vacilla l’incertamente il piè non regge il core mi frema e nelle vene tutto s’agghiaccia il sangue e dunque questa la dovuta mercede ingiustissimi Numi à tanta fede mà che penso che parlo aperta à tutti non è la via di morte Ombra dilecta che qui intorno t’aggiri accogli i miei sospiri inonorata non andrai trà gli estinti ombra adorata</p> <p><i>Se il ciel me divide</i> [&c.]</p>	<p>8 DIRCEA: Dircea che fai! perche tarresti! perche non fugi! e dove aime... vacilla l’incertamente il pie non regge il core mi frema e nella vene tutto sagghiaccia il sangue e dunque questa la dovuta mercede, ingiustissimi Numi, a tanta fede? ma che penso! Che parlo aperta à tutti non e l’avia di morte Ombra diletta che qui intorno t’aggiri accogli i miei sospiri inonoratta non andrai tra gli estinti Ombra adorata.</p> <p><i>Se il ciel mi divide</i> [&c.]</p>



Figure 2: A punctual modification dictated by prosody [19r, 43r, 59v, 93v].

The first staging of this multi-authored setting of *Demofonte* in Rio took place around the mid 1780s, right after the arrival of Pedro Antonio Pereira, when the singer Rosinha was still active. The last performance, preserved in the final arrangement of instrumental parts, happened before Lapinha’s departure to Portugal in 1791. Although not impossible, it is unlikely that Pedrinho was still active as a singer after her return in 1805. If still alive, he would be approaching his 80th birthday.

Since the arias assigned to the characters Demofonte, Creusa, Matusio, and maybe Cherino were not taken from *Demofonte* settings (see Table 1), and these characters were not identified in the numbers taken from external sources, it is not possible to ascertain the exact cast for a specific production. Even so, a comparison between the order of numbers of *Demofonte* and the actual libretto may provide an approximate idea of the possible placement of numbers within the play.

At least four different copyists worked on *Demofonte*, but two of them did the largest part of the job. One of them (*a*) seems to have copied the majority of instrumental parts. Different copyists worked on “Olà porgetemi,” “Misero pargoletto,” and maybe “Oi me ch’ntesi mai.” Inconsistencies and variants on a number of pages apparently written by *a* suggest a range of possibilities, from the expected changes in handwriting through the length of one’s career, to idiosyncratic practices (such as using two different shapes of the G clef, sometimes in the same page, as in the violin parts of “Ah torto spergiuro” and the Coro in folios [26v] and [49v]), and some interventions by a less expert copyist (as in “Me infelice che sento,” [1v]). It is highly suggestive that Pedrinho and his wife can be linked with this repertory since its inception at the Bairro Alto during the 1760s. If Manuel Luiz hired him as a music director, and not simply as a *cômico*, Pedrinho’s duties would include taking care of the music library of the theater. This would explain the homogeneity of these copies, either because Pedrinho used to work with the same copyists or because he or his wife did some copying as well.

Vocal and instrumental parts reveal a number of shared features, but the vocal parts were all written at the same time and are much more professional and coherent in style (*b*). If copyists *a* and *b* were the same person—as one of the variants of *a* (hereafter *a1*) seems to function as a link between *a* and *b*—copies by *a* should be from an early period. Even if *a* and *b* were not the same person, copies produced by *b* are more recent, given that their neatly numbered internal order reflects the final placement of the instrumental parts, which often bear two different numberings. Both *a* and *b* worked in other copies associated with the Teatro de Manuel Luiz, now in Vila Viçosa, but we do not know if all copies by *a* were actually produced in Rio. Cranmer makes a strong point that at least some of them were. He described the style of *a1* (illustrated in Figure 1) in his 2012 chapter, identifying it as being used also in the copy of *Zara*, formerly in the archives of Gastão Bettencourt and Curt Lange and bearing the note “Reprezentada no Teatro do Rio de Janeiro em 18 de Novembro de 1778.”²⁵ For quick reference, Appendix 2 includes a sample of the main clefs and key signatures of each number. Style *a1* is seen in the instrumental parts of “Ah torto spergiuro” and “Se il ciel me divide,” and in the fragment of “Misero me/Ah si fugga,” in G-Prática 117a.

Given that no *secco* recitatives were found, it is possible that they had been delivered as spoken dialogues, most likely translated from the Italian libretto. Yet, the absence of comic characters rules out the use of the widespread *cordel* adaptation of *Demofonte*, titled *Mais vale amor que um reino* and printed many times throughout the eighteenth century. The same could be said about the settings of *Eurene* and *Olimpiade* (see ahead), also in Vila Viçosa and mostly following the features of *a* (*Olimpiade* also in *a1*). On the other hand, *Dido Abandonada* (G-Prática 88c and 117a; Belo

²⁵ Cranmer, *O repertório músico-teatral...*, 157.

Horizonte, Acervo Curt Lange 10.5.18), with music attributed to Pedro Antonio Avondano and at least partly copied in variant *a1*, took its text from the *cordel* version, *Dido Desamparada*.²⁶

It is likely that at least part of the material of the multi-authored *Demofonte* was originally copied in Portugal, used for a performance in Lisbon or Oporto. Twiss commented sarcastically on a staging of *Demofonte* in Oporto in 1772, but fell short of explaining the reason of his negative opinion.²⁷ Manuel Carlos de Brito argues that this was the same performance described by Carvalhais, after a now unavailable libretto, at least partly composed by Davide Perez, with Luisa Todi and Pedro Antonio Pereira playing Dircea and Timante.²⁸ Curiously, the violin parts of the sixth number of our *Demofonte*, a recitative and aria from Jommelli's *Il Creso*, bear the inscription Sra. Luiza on a very different fashion than the other singer assignments. It was crossed out in the first violin and concealed by the name Sra. Paula in the second violin. (See Figure 3.) Could it be that this was not the Luiza from Rio's *casa da ópera*, but rather Luisa Aguiar Todi? Were some of these copies used in the Oporto production?



Figure 3: Detail of vln. 1 and vln. 2 parts of “Ohimé ch’intesi mai” [12r, 37r].

Concluding Remarks

Evidence discussed above confirms David Cranmer’s hypothesis that the material titled *Demofonte* in G-Prática 51b was a pastiche. Although late-eighteenth-century Luso-Brazilian audiences were familiar with the Italian concept of a musico-theatrical production with music by “*diversi celebri autori*,” the term pastiche became widespread in Portugal and Brazil only around the 1830s—always in its French spelling.²⁹ The basic idea was to assemble well-known arias from different composers to produce a musical setting of a famous libretto that would be attractive and not too expensive, or at least not when compared with original operas produced with Royal sponsorship. Outside of Italy—Portugal and Brazil, for instance—additional concessions, such as vernacular singing and spoken dialogues, provided a link with local theatrical traditions.

²⁶ As pointed out by Mário de Sampayo Ribeiro on a letter to Curt Lange. Belo Horizonte, Acervo Curt Lange, folder 2.2.S65.2275, 7 November 1964.

²⁷ Richard Twiss, *Travels Through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773* (London: the author, 1775), 48

²⁸ Brito, *Opera in Portugal*, 114. Mário Moreau, *Cantores de Ópera Portugueses* (Lisboa: Bertrand, 1981), 69-70.

²⁹ José da Fonseca, *Novo Dicionário Francez-Portuguez* (Paris: Aillaud, 1836), 701, translates *pastiche* as “*Mescla de música de auctores varios*.” The British and the German preferred the Italian form *pasticcio*.

As seen in *Demofonte*, the result was not always coherent. Out of its 13 numbers, only 5 were taken from actual *Demofonte* settings. In order to produce a narrative that would resemble Metastasio's drama, the musical numbers would have to be accompanied by dialogues from the title plot and/or the adapter would have to make changes in the text of the arias and *obbligato* recitatives. While the first possibility had been discussed above, the substitution of Cleofide with Dircea in the *Cantoria* 8^a is the only case in which the text of a musical number had been changed. (See Table 2.)

However, Cranmer's affirmation that Metastasio's text was much altered has to be taken with caution. With the exception of Cleofide/Dircea's monologue, all perceived text discrepancies are due to fact that the respective numbers were not taken from settings of *Demofonte*, but rather from other librettos, either by Metastasio (*Alessandro nell'Indie*, *Antigono*, and *Zenobia*), or by other authors (*L'Incognita Perseguitata* and *Il Ciarlone*). Yet these texts were not significantly changed. Even the expansion of Cleofide/Dircea's monologue was not produced during this assemblage, but instead at least two decades earlier, for Sarti's 1762 production of *Alessandro nell'Indie*. As for the Portuguese versions of the arias, although their textual incipits suggest that they are direct translations of the Italian, only an analysis of the complete text, now unavailable, could inform us whether they were somehow changed in order to harmonize with the new plot.

In addition to *Demofonte*, the musical archive of Vila Viçosa holds a number of Italian works translated to Portuguese, from large sections of single operas to isolated arias deployed in various settings. For example, an extensive portion of Gazzaniga's *L'Isola di Alcina* had Bertati's text translated to the Portuguese (G-Prática 87 and 117d), without affecting significantly the work's integrity. A different case is *Dom João, criado de si mesmo* (G-Prática 86b), a Portuguese *comédia* by Nicolau Luiz interspersed with musical numbers, some apparently composed specifically for the play, others picked from diverse sources, such as De Majo's aria "Quando freme il mar sdegnato," from *Ricimero re de' Goti* (2/10), translated as "Quando brama o mar irado." On the other hand, *Eurene* (117d) is structurally similar to *Demofonte*, including numbers from different composers, such as the *obbligato* recitatives "Tropo del cor d'un trace" from Perez's *Solimano* (1/7) and "Ah qual sapre il mio cor," from Traetta's *Ifigenia* (1/26), the latter with a Portuguese text. These works reveal the existence of a lively culture of operatic translations and substitutions, *pasticcio* settings, and spoken plays with music. It was this model, not the one provided by the royal theaters that was exported to Portugal's main colony, a process in which the agency of Pedro Antonio Pereira was crucial. Prominently featuring the names of the main *cômicos* then active in Rio de Janeiro, the instrumental parts of *Demofonte* provide indisputable proof of the circulation of repertoires, practices, and artists between Portugal and Portuguese America. It is also palpable evidence of the global reach of Italian opera during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Appendix 1: Demofonte sources

Cantoria 1 [Cantoria 12]

Me infelice che sento

7

Rec.vo All.o Comodo

voice
[f. 50r]

1.a Cantoria 12.a Rec.vo All.o comodo Sn.ra Joaquina

vln. 1
[f. 1v]

Ah si fugga non ardisco

17

Aria All.o Comodo

voice
[f. 51v]Source: Anfossi, *L'Incognita Perseguitata* 2/7 (copy at P-La 44-I-46 a 48).Range: $e^1 - a^2$.

Parts: vln. 1 & voice [1v-3r], vln. 2 & voice [27r-28r], voice with text [50r-52v], oboes [66r-66v]; horns [72r-72v], bass & voice [82v, G-Prática 117].

Remarks: Assigned to Sra. Joaquina [1r, 1v, 27r].

Cantoria 2

Olà porgetemi un ferro (*Olá progetime*)

12

Cantoria 2.a All.o assai

voice
[f. 52v]

Cantoria 2.a All.o assai S.r Pedro V.o 2.o

vln. 2
[f. 29r]Source: Marescalchi, *Il Ciarlone*.Range: $e^1 - a^2$.

Parts: vln. 1 [4r-5r], vln. 2 [29r-31r], vla. [G-Prática 117], voice with text [52v-53v], horns [73r-73v], basso G-Prática 117.

Remarks: Portuguese incipit *olá progetime* [4r, 30r, G-Prática 117]. Assigned to Sr. Pedro [29r, 73r].

Cantoria 3

Oimè! qual fredda mano

6

Rec.vo And.e Cantoria 3.a Demofonte

rigoroso tempo

voice [f. 53v]

Oime! qual freda mano mi s'aggrava sul cor

Cantoria 3.a And.e Recv.o Tace segue Aria S.ra Ignacia S.r M.el Demofonte 3.a

vln. 2 [f. 32r]

Si soffre una tiranna (*Sofrer huma tirana*)

17

All.o Mod.to

voice [f. 54r]

Se sofre uma tirana Si sofre uma tirana

Source: Traetta, *Zenobia* 3/7.Range d¹ – g².

Parts: vln. 1 [6r-7v], vln. 2 [32r-32v], voice with text [53v-54r], horns [74r], bass [83r-83v].

Remarks: Portuguese text incipit *sofrer huma tirana* [3r, 6r]; assigned to character Ircana [6r]. Assigned to Sr. Manoelinho [3r], Sr. M.el [32v], S.r M.el Roiz [74r, 83r], and to S.ra Ignacia (crossed out) [32v, 74r, 83r].

Cantoria 4

Padre perdona oh pene

9

Largo Cantoria 4.a

voice [f. 55r]

Padre perdona oh pene

Sposo deh parla deh parla

Cantoria 4.a Largo S.ra Joaquina Basso Demofonte 4.a

voz

p *rinf*

basso [f. 86r]

Source: unidentified composer, text from *Demofoonte* 1/12.Range c¹ – a^{b2}.

Parts: vln. 1 [8v-9r], vln. 2 [33v-34r], voice with text [55r-56r], oboes [67r-67v], horns [75r-75v], basso [86r-86v, G-Prática 117].

Remarks: Assigned to Sra. Joaquina [8v, 33v, 75r, 86r] and Sra. Ign.ca [67r, 75r].

Cantoria 5

Vi conosco amate stelle

17

Acto 2.o Cantoria 5.a All.o Comodo

voice [f. 56r]

Vi conosco amate stelle

Source: Traetta, *Zenobia* 1/9.Range d¹ – g².

Parts: vln. 1 [10v-11r], vln 2 [35r-36r], voice with text [56r-57r], oboes [68r], horns [76r], basso [87r].

Remarks: Assigned to Sr. Manoelinho [10r, 10v, 35r, 35v, 68r, 76r, 87r].

[Cantoria 6]

Oimè ch'intesi mai

6

S.ra Joaquina 2.a Ilha dezerta ~~S.ra Luiza~~ Segue Aria 3. Rec.o

vln. 1 [f. 12r]

Oimè ch'intesi mai

78.a Cantoria 7.a Sn.ra Joaquina Paula Basso 7.a Cantoria Ilha Demofonte 7.a

basso [f. 88r]

[Là nel torbido fiume di Lete]

P-La 44-IX-90

Là nel torbido fiume di Lete

Segue Aria All.o spiritoso

basso [f. 89r]

Source: Jommelli, *Il Crespo* 1/13 (copy at P-La 44-IX-90).Range: c¹ – a².

Parts: vln. 1 [12r-14v], vln. 2 [37r-38r], horn & voice with text [76v-77v], bass & voice [88r-89r].

Remarks: The horn part has only the text of the second section of the recitative, beginning with *Ah dove il fiume*. Assigned to Sra. Joaquina [12r, 37r, 78r, 88r crossed out], Sra. Luiza [12r, 37r both crossed out, 76v], Sra. Paula [37r, 88r]. Also used on a setting of *Ilha Deserta* [12r, 88r].

[Cantoria 7a] [Cantoria 5a]

Misero me qual gelido torrente

5

10.a Recv.o S.r Pedro Basso "10a" Demofonte 10.a

bass [f. 96r]

Misero me qual gelido torrente

The musical score for 'Misero me qual gelido torrente' is presented in two staves. The top staff is for the vocal part, with lyrics 'Misero me' and 'qual gelido torrente'. The bottom staff is for the bass, featuring figured bass notation: 3#, 2, 3#, 3#, 5, 3#, 3#. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is marked with a '5' in a box at the beginning.

Source: De Majo, *Demofonte* 3/4 (copy at P-La 44-XI-49 a 51).Range $e\flat^1 - g^2$

Parts: vln. 1 & voice [15r, 17r-18r, 21v-23r], vln. 2 & voice [45r-46v], bass & voice with text [84r, 96r-97v].

Remarks: Two settings of instrumental parts; in one group [17r-18r] the recitative *Misero me* is assigned to Sra. Joaquina and is followed on the same page by the aria *Se il ciel me divide*; in the second group, assigned to Sr. Pedro [21r, 45r], the recitative is followed by *Sono in mar*, as in one of De Majo's settings.

[Cantoria 7b]

Sono in mar

32

All.o spiritoso

US-BEm MS 97

Sono in mar nō vegō sponde

Aria S. Pedro

vln. 1 [f. 15v]

Sono in mar

The musical score for 'Sono in mar' is presented in two staves. The top staff is for the US-BEm MS 97 part, with lyrics 'Sono in mar' and 'nō vegō sponde'. The bottom staff is for the vln. 1 part, with lyrics 'Sono in mar'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is marked with a '32' in a box at the beginning.

Source: De Majo, *Demofonte* 3/4.Range: $d^1 - c^3$ (original key).

Parts: vln. 1 [15v-16r], vln. 2 [39v-40v, 46v], oboes [66r-66v], basso [84v-85r].

Remarks: Assigned to Sr. Pedro [8r, 15v, 39v, 84v], Pedro Ant.o [33r]. Original key F major; De Majo inserted this aria after the recitative *Misero me*, with text from *Nitteti* 1/1. Not found in the copy of De Majo's *Demofonte* at P-La 44-XI-49 a 51.

Cantoria 8a

Dircea che fai, per chè t'arresti, per chè non fuggi?

5

Rec.vo Maestoso Cantoria 8.a Demofonte

voice [f. 57r]

Dircea che fai? per che tarresti? perche non fugi?

Source: Sarti, *Alessandro nell'Indie* 2/10 (copy at P-La 47-V-3 e 4).

[See below under Cantoria 8b]

Cantoria 8b [Cantoria 5b]

Se il ciel mi divide dal caro mio sposo (*Se o ceo me divide*)

Allegro 21

voice [f. 59v]

Se il ciel mi divide dal caro mio sposo

Source: Sarti, *Alessandro nell'Indie* 2/10 (copy at P-La 47-V-3 e 4).

Range: $d^1 - a^2$ (original $f^1 - c^3$).

Parts: vln. 1 [17r-18v], vln. 2 [41r-42v], voice with text [57r-59v], oboes [69r-71v], horns/trombones [78r-79v], basso [90v-92v; G-Prática 117].

Remarks: Assigned to Sra. Joaquina in all instrumental parts. The name Sra. Rozinha appears on a loose folio with the bass part of the aria (G-Prática 117). Portuguese text incipit *Se o ceo me divide* [18r].

Preceded in one version by the recitative *Misero me* [17r-18r]. Also used on a setting of *Eurene* [90v].

Cantoria 9

Sposo / Consorte (*Eneas / Princeza*)

[f. 59v] Rec.vo Duetto Larghetto Cantoria 9.a

Dircea

Sposo e tu per me ti perde?

Timante

Consorte

Sposa / Timante o Dei

[f. 61r] Segue Duetto And.e amoroso

8

Timante Oh De - i! Perche non parti?

Sposa! Oh De - i!

La destra ti chiedo / Ah questo fu il segno

[f. 62v] Duetto And.e amoroso

14

Dircea Ah! questo fu il segno del nostro contento

Timante La destra ti chiedo mio dolce sostegno

Source: Guglielmi, *Demofonte* 2/11 (copy at P-La 44-VIII-42).

Range: c¹ – f² (Dircea).

Parts: vln. 1 [19r-20v], vln. 2 [43r-44v], basso & voice with text [59v-64r], [80r-80v], [93v-94v], [G-Prática 117].

Remarks: also used on a setting of *Enea e Lavinia* [93v].

Cantoria 10 [Cantoria 1]

Ah torto spergiuoro quel labro mi dice (*Sem causa me chama*)

Andantino

P-La 44-XI-36

A torto spergiuoro spergiuoro

Pr.a Cantoria Andantn.o Demetrio: S.ra Joaquina Ah torto spergiuoro Sem causa me xama Demofonte 1.a

[f. 26r]

VOZ

Source: De Majo, *Antigono* 1/3 (copy at P-La 44-XI-36 a 38).

Range: f^{#1} – b².

Parts: vln. 1 [26r-26v], vln. 2 [49r-49v], voice with text [64v-65r], basso [99r].

Remarks: Assigned to Sra. Joaquina [26r, 49r, 99r]. Previously used on a setting of *Demetrio* [26r, 49r, 99r]; folio [99v] has the crossed-out indication *Eurene* and contains the canceled bass part of an aria by Berenice.

[Cantoria 11]

Figlia qualor ti miro involto nel mio fato

Adagio **Larghetto**

P-La 44-X-21

figlia figlia, qualor ti miro invol - - ta nel mio

Cantoria 11 S.r Pedro Violino 1o. Demofonte

[f. 24r]

Figlia qual lor timiro

Source: Jommelli, *Ifigenia in Aulida* 2/4 (copy at P-La 44-X-20 a 22).

Range: e – e²

Parts: vln. 1 [24r-24v], vln. 2 [47r-47v], basso [81r-81v].

Remarks: Assigned to Sr. Pedro [24r, 47r, 81r]. The Museu da Música de Mariana, Minas Gerais, has an eighteenth-century manuscript fragment of the B section of this aria.

[Cantoria 12]

Misero pargoletto (*Mísero amado filho*)

Un poco lento

P-La 54-I-82

Misero pargoletto il tuo destin non sai

Un poco Lento Violino 1.o Mizero amado Filho S.r Pedro

[f. 25r]

p

Source: Perez, *Demofonte* 3/5 (copy at P-La 54-I-80 a 82).

Range: e¹-a².

Parts: vln. 1 [25r-25v], vln. 2 [48r-48v], basso [95r-95v].

Remarks: Assigned to Sr. Pedro [25r].

Coro

(Em dia ditoso)

And.e Coro

vln. 1 & 2

[26v], [49v]

tpt. 1 & 2

G-117c

basso

G-117c

vozes

Em dia ditoso

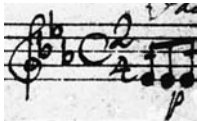


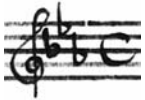


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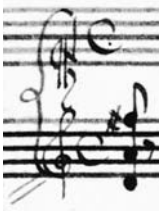




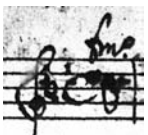
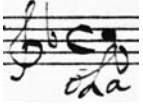
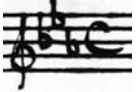

Parts: vln. 1 [26v], vln. 2 [49v], hrn [81v], tpt. [G-Prática 117], baixo [G-Prática 117]


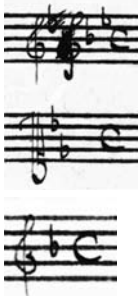
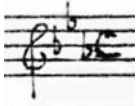


Remarks: Also used in *Inconstancias da Fortuna* and *Eurene*.



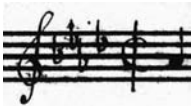

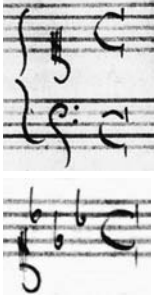
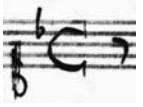

Appendix 2: Demofonte copies in P-VV.

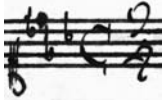


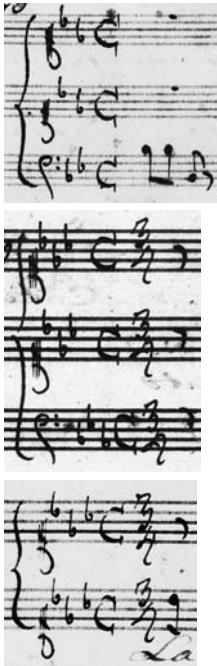
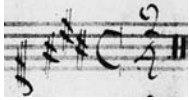
G-Prática 51b (European Music Manuscripts, series 3, microfilm reel 36)				
folio	clef, key, sample	textual markings [except expression]	instrument	normalized incipit
[1r-3v]		Cantoria 12.a / Sr.a Joaquina / violino 1.o / Demofonte // Cantoria 12.a / Snr.a Joaquina / 1 a / All.o comodo / C / Recv.o // segue Aria / Aria All.o comodo / bbb C // [cont.] // Segue Coro Final / Segue S.r Manoelinho Sofrer huma tirana // [blank]	voice [no text], vln. 1 / vln. 1	[Me infelice che sento / Ah si fugga]
[4r-5v]		Olá progetime / Violino 1.o // All.o assaij / b C / ola // D.C. // [blank]	vln. 1	[Olà porgetemi]
[6r-7v]		### / vio / 3.a / Segue Ircana Aria / 8.a Rec.o Ircana / bbb C / Sofrer huma tirana / vos / Segue Aria Ircana // [cont.] // 1.o / 3 // [blank]	vln. 1	[Oime qual fredda mano / Si soffre una tirana]







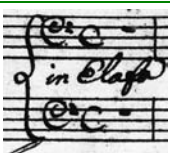
[8r-9v]		Segue sono in mar do S.r Pedro adiante / Demofonte / v.o 1.o // Cantor. 4.a - Snr.a Joaquina / V.o 1.o / Demofo[n]te / Padre perdona / 2 Largo / bbb C 2/4 / voz / Recv.o / C / Presto / C / Largo / C 2/4 // Recv.o / C / Presto / C // [blank]	vln. 1	Padre perdona
[10r-11v]		S.r Manoelinho / 5.a / V.o 1.o // Cantoria 5.a / S.r Manoelinho / V.o 1.o / Demof[onte] / vi conosco amate stelle / All.o mod.o / C // [cont.] // [blank]	vln. 1	Vi conosco amate stelle
[12r-14v]		1.o / Sr.a Joaquina / 2.a / ### / Ilha deserta / Snr.a Luiza / Segue Aria 3.a Rec.o / bb C / Oi me ch'intessi mai / volta // [cont.] / ## // bb / nada // Segue Aria All.o / All.o spiritoso / b C // [cont.] // Finis	vln. 1, voice [no text]	[Oime che intesi mai / La nel torbido fiume di Lete]
[15r]		v.o 1.o / 7.a / volte / rmi che manca il suol stridermi sento cento folgori intorno / e leggo oh Dio e leggo oh Dio / scolpito in ogni sasso il fallo / mio / Segue l'Aria subito	vln. 1, voice [with text]	[Misero me]
[15v-16v]		7.a / Aria / S.r Pedro / bbb C / Sono in mar / voz / voz // voz / Da Capo al segno / Segue Padre perdona atraz, da Sr.a Joaq.na // [blank]	vln. 1	[Sono in mar]
[17r-18v]		S.ra Joaquina / V.o 1.o / Demofonte / 8.a / 5.a / Maestoso / C // [cont.] // Segue Aria Se o ceo me divide / All.o / ## C 12/8 / Se o Ceo me divide / volte subito // [cont.]	vln. 1, voice [no text] / vln. 1	[Dircea che fai / Se il ciel me divide]
[19r-20v]		Cant. 5.a / Ene. e Lavi. / 5.a / Rec.vo / Larghetto / 4.a / bb C / Eneas Princeza // 5.a / All.o amorozo / bbb C 3/4 / All.o // Duetto / An.de amorozo / bbb C 3/4 // All.o	vln. 1, voice [no text], // vln. 1	[Sposo / Consorte // La destra ti chiedo]




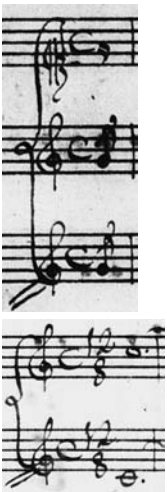


[21r-23v]		V.o 1.o / 5.a / 10.a / S.r Pedro // violino primo / Recv.o / 5.a / C / Misero me qual gelido torrente [etc.] // Re figlio e nepote Olinto [etc.] / All.o / And.no // d'Argo d di Hebe l'e furie in me tu rinovar [etc.] // Larghetto // par mi che manca in suol stridermi sento cento folgori in torno / e leggo o Dio e leggo o Dio / scolpito in ogni sasso il fallo mio // [blank]	voice [with text], vln. 1	[Misero me]
[24r-24v]		[Can]toria 11 / S.r Pedro / violino 1.o / Demofonte / b C / 6/8 / Figlia qualor timiro / 11 / Ad.o / C / 6/8 / volte prestsm.o // [cont.]	vln. 1	[Figlia qualor ti miro]
[25r-25v]		Violino 1.o / Mizero amado Filho / S.r Pedro / Un poco Lento / bbbb C // [cont.]	vln. 1	[Misero pargoletto]
[26r-26v]		P.ra Cantoria / S.ra Joaquina / Demofonte / Demetrio – Sem cauza me xama / Ah torto spergiuro / Andantn.o / ### C 2/4 / 10.a / voz / volta prestissimo // Coro / And.e / ## C 3/4 / vozes	vln. 1	[Ah torto spergiuro]
[27r-28v]		Cantoria 12.a / S.ra Joaquina / v.o 2.o / Demofonte / 12.a / Recv.o / C / All.o comodo // [cont.] / [Aria] bbb C // [cont.] volte subito // All.o con sp.o / Segue coro final	voice [no text], vln. 2	[Me infelice che sento / Ah si fugga]
[29r-29v]		Cantoria 2.a / S.r Pedro / All.o assaij / b C // [cont.]	vln. 2	[Olà porgetemi]
[30r-31v]		Olá progetime / Violino 2.o // All.o assaij / b C / ola // [cont.] D.C. // [blank]	vln. 2	[Olà porgetemi]
[32r-32v]		Cantoria 3.a / S.ra Ign.ca / S.r M.el / V.o 2.o / Demofonte / Recv.o Tace segue Aria / 3.a / And.e / bbb C / Aria // [cont.]	vln. 2	[Oime qual fredda mano / Si soffre una tirana]
[33r-34v]		Demofonte / 4.a / V. 2.o / Segue Aria do S.r Pedro Ant.o Sono in mar // Cantoria 4.a / S.r Joaquina / Padre perdona / Violino 2.o / Demofonte /	vln. 2	Padre perdona

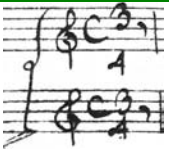
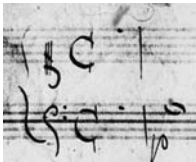

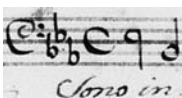
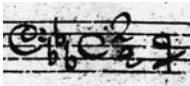
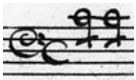
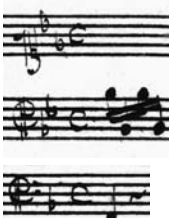

		Largo / $\text{bbb } C \ 2/4$ / Recv.o / C / Presto / C / Largo / $C \ 2/4$ // Recv.o / C / Presto / C // [blank]		
[35r-36v]		S.r Manuelinho / Demofonte / Cantoria 5.a / Violino 2.o // Cantoria 5.a / S.r Manoelinho / V.o 2.o / Demof[onte] / All.o mod.o / C // [cont.] // [blank]	vln. 2	[Vi conosco amate stelle]
[37r-38v]		2.o / S.ra Joaq.na / ### / 2.a / S.ra Paula [Luiza] / 2.a / Rec.o Larghetto Tamas [?] / $\text{bb } C$ // o mesmo Largo / $\text{bb } C$ // 2.o / segue Aria // All.o spiritoso / $b \ C$	vln. 2	[Oime che intesi mai / La nel torbido fiume di Lete]
[39r-40v]		Cantoria [illegible] / S.r Pedro / Demofonte / 7.a / V.o 2.o // Cantoria [borrado] S.r Pedro / Sono in mar / Demof[onte] / Em CSolut / All.o / $\text{bbb } C$ / Segue subito atras a Aria Padre perdona // 2 / 7 / volte subito // Da capo al segno / Segue a Aria Padre perdona q fica atraz	vln. 2	Sono in mar
[41r-42v]		S.ra Joaquina / Demofonte / 8.a / V.o 2.o // Cantoria 8.a / Sr.a Joaquina / Tacet / V.o 2.o / Demof[onte] / Maestoso / C // Tacet / segue Aria // Aria / All.o / $\text{## } C \ 12/8$ / voz	voice [no text], vln 2	[Dircea che fai / Se il ciel me divide]
[43r-44v]		Cantoria 9.a / Duetto / V.o 2.o / Demofonte / $\text{bb } C$ / 9.a // And.e amoroso / $\text{bbb } C \ 3/4$ / segue subito / All.o // And.e amoroso / $\text{bbb } C \ 3/4$ // [cont.]	voice [no text], vln. 2	[Sposo / Consorte // La destra ti chiedo]


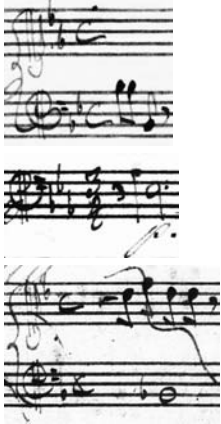


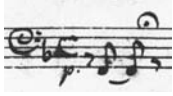
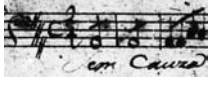

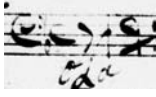


[45r-46v]		S.r Pedro / Violino 2 / Recv.o / "5.a" / C / Demofonte / 10.a / Recv.o // And.no / Larghetto // All.o // Largo Segue l'Aria / Aria / All.o / bbb C / voz	voice [no text], vln. 2	[Misero me / Sono in mar]
[47r-47v]		Cantoria 11.a / S.r Pedro / V.o 2.o / Demofonte / Adagio / b C / C6/8 / Larghetto / 11.a / Ad.o / C / Larghetto / C6/8 / Larghetto / volte subito // Da capo al segno	vln. 2	[Figlia qualor ti miro]
[48r-48v]		Violino 2.o / Un poco lento / bbbbb C / voz	vln. 2	[Misero pargoletto]
[49r-49v]		Demetrio / Cantoria 7" / S.ra Joaquina / V.o 2 / Sem cauza me xama / Andn.o / ### C 2/4 / voz / volte prestissimo // Coro / And.e / ## C3/4 / vozes		[Ah torto spergiuro]
[50r-52v]		Demofonte / Será de Marcos Portugal? [on later handwriting] // Rec.vo / All.o Comodo / C / Me infelice che sento in odio al mondo [etc.] // pur la mia ragione [etc.] // vento e il passo incerto [etc.] / Aria / All.o Comodo / bbb C / Ah si fuga si fuga non ardisco [etc.] // forse il ciel pietoso [etc.] / All.o con sp.to // strada per celarmi io troveró [etc.]	voice [with text], basso	Me infelice che sento / Ah si fugga
[52v-53v]		Cantoria 2.a / All.o assai / b C / Ola ola porgetemi un ferro [etc.] // duolo muti si stanno no vè [etc.] volte // fonde quel l'infedel má con chi parlo! [etc.]	voice [with text]	Olà porgetemi
[53v-55r]		Cantoria 3.a / Demofonte / rigoroso tempo / Rec.vo / And.e / bbb C / Oi me! qual freda mano mi saggrava sul Cor oi me! che tormentoso // dubbio é mai questo! [cont.] / Segue Aria / All.o mod.to / bbb C / Se sofre una tirana [etc.] // Dio un infedele non si puo [etc.] // puo non si puo soffrir [etc.]	voice [with text], basso	Oime qual fredda mano / Se soffre una tiranna



[55r-56r]		Cantoria 4.a / Largo / Padre perdona perdona / Sposo deh parla deh parla Oh pene / Prencera mente [etc.] / Presto [C] Come son giunta // mai dei Numi a questi rai [etc.] / Largo [C 2/4] / Sposo deh parla deh parla oh pene Prencera mente [etc.] / Recc.vo [C] Oh Dio in che peccai / Presto / Come son giunta mai dei Numi a questi rai // come son giunta mai [etc.]	voice [with text]	Padre perdona
[56r-57r]		Acto 2.o / Cantoria 5.a / All.o Comodo / C / Vi conosco amate stelle [etc.] // -te nel mio sen [etc.] // -nosco amate stelle [etc.]	voice [with text]	Vi conosco amate stelle
[57r-59v]		Cantoria 8.a Demofonte / Recv.o / Maestoso / C / Dircea che fai / Volte presto // perche tarresti [etc.] // e dunque questa la dovuta [etc.] // e l'avia di morte ombra diletta [etc.] / Segue Aria / All.o [## C12/8] Se il ciel me divide [etc.] // che non m'uccide pietoso il martir [etc.] // che non m'uccide pietoso il martir [etc.]	voice [with text]	Dircea che fai / Se il ciel me divide
[59v-64r]		Cantoria 9.a / Recv.o / Duetto / bb C / Dircea / Timante / Larghetto / Sposo / consorte / e tu per me ti perde / e tu mori per me // chi aura piu cura [etc.] // nodo crudel divida [etc.] // -ri saluto son io / Coragio / A Dio Dircea / Prencipe addio / Segue Duetto / And.e amoroso [bbb C 3/4] // Sposa! / Timante! Oh Dei! [etc.] // Oh Dio quanto odio verso [etc.] // vuoi / Duetto / Dircea / And.e amoroso [bbb C 3/4] / Timante / La destra ti chiedo [etc.] // -so non è / Ben mia mia vita [etc.] // Ah questo fécil sdegno [etc.] / All.o / Che barbaro addio che fato crudel [etc.] // mio / addio / che barbaro addio [etc.]	voice 1 & 2 [with text]	Sposo / Consorte // La destra ti chiedo
[64v-65v]		And.no / ### C2/4 / Ah torto spergiuo spergiuo quel labro mi dice [etc.] // -giuro mi dice [etc.] // [blank]	voice [with text]	Ah torto spergiuo

[66r-66v]		Cantoria 1.a / S.r Joaquina / Oboe / Demofonte / Aria / Recv.o tacet / $\flat\flat\flat$ C / All.o comodo / volte subito // [cont.]	ob. 1 & 2	[Ah si fugga]
[67r-67v]		Cantoria 4.a / S.ra Ign.ca / oboe / $\flat\flat\flat$ C2/4 / Dem[ofonte] / 4.a / Oboe // [cont.]	ob. 1 & 2	[Padre Perdon]
[68r-68v]		Cantoria 5.a / S.r Manoelinho / Oboé / Demofonte / 5.a / Oboe / All.o mod.o / C / Vi conosco amate stelle // [blank]	ob. 1 & 2	Vi conosco amate stelle
[69r-71v]		Cantoria 8.a / S.ra Joaquina / Oboé / Demofonte / 8.a / Recv.o / C / Maestoso // [cont.] // // [cont.] // [cont.] Aria / 8.a / All.o / $\sharp\sharp$ C12/8 // [cont.]	ob. 1 & 2, voice [no text]	[Dircea che fai / Se il ciel me divide]
[72r-72v]		Cantoria Pr.a / S.ra Joaquina / Corni / Demofonte / Recv.o tacet / C / in Elafá / All.o comodo / volte subito // [cont.]	voice [no text], horn 1 & 2	[Ah si fugga]
[73r-73v]		2.a / S.r Pedro / tacet / Corni / Demofonte / in Futfa / C / voz / volte // [cont.]	horn 1 & 2	[Ola porgetemi]
[74r-74v]		Cantoria 3.a / S.ra Ign.ca M.el Roiz / Corni / Demofonte / 3.a / Recv.o tacet / C / in Elafa / all.o mod.o / voz // [blank]	horn 1 & 2	[Si soffre una tiranna]

[75r-75v]		Sr.a Ign.ca / 4 / Corno em Elafá / Snr.a Joaquina / Demofonte / $\text{bbb } C2/4$ / 4.a / Recc.vo / Presto / Largo // [cont.]	horn 1 & 2	[Padre perdona]
[76r]		Cantoria 5.a / S.r Manoelinho / Tacet / Corni / Demofonte / 5.a / Corni em Csolut / C	horn 1 & 2	[Vi conosco amate stelle]
[76v-77v]		Cantoria 6.a / S.ra Luiza / Corni / Demofonte / 6.a / Recv.o tacet / C / in Elafa / Ah dove il fiume, e dove il palido Nochiero [etc.] / tacet / Segue Aria in Futfa / C // Aria / All.o Spiritoso / 6.a / in Futfa // 7.a cantoria tacet	voice [rec. with text], horn 1 & 2	Dove il fiume / [La nel torbido fiume di Lete]
[78r-79v]		Cantoria 8.a / S.ra Joaquina / Corni ou Trombe / Demofonte / 8.a / Recv.o / in Dlare / Maestoso / C // tacet / segue / Aria / in Dlare / All.o / $C12/8$ / volte // 8.a // [blank]	voice [no text], horn or tb. 1 & 2	[Dircea che fai / Se il ciel me divide]
[80r-80v]		Cantoria 9.a / Corni / Demofonte / 9.a / in Elafa / Cavatina / Recv.o tacet / And.e amoroso / $C3/4$ / só veder / Recv.o tacet / Segue Duetto / Duetto / in Elafá / $C3/4$ / all.o / volte sub.o // Cantoria 10 tacet	horn 1 & 2	[Timante / La destra ti chiedo]
[81r-81v]		Cantoria 11 / S.r Pedro / Corni / Demofonte / Ad.o / Larghetto / 11/ in Futfa / C / $C6/8$ / Ad.o / C / Larghetto / $C6/8$ // Cantoria 12 tacet / Segue Coro final / And.e / in Dlaré / $C3/4$	horn 1 & 2	[Figlia qualor ti miro]

				
[82r-82v]		Baxo Demofonte // C	voice [no text], basso	[Me infelice che sento]
[83r-83v]		Basso / Cant. 3.a / S.ra Ignacia / S.r M.el Ro.is Tacet segue Aria / Demofonte / 3.a / Recv.o / bbb C / Segue Aria / All.o mod.o / bbb C / volte subito // [cont.]	voice [no text], basso	[Oimé qual fredda mano / Si soffre una tiranna]
[84r-85v]		volte / 7.a / noi che mostruoso oggetto a me stesso io di vengo oh Dio ta luce / All.o / ogn'aura mi spaventa al pie tremante parmi che manca il suol stridermi sento cento folgori in torno e leggo oh Dio / e leggo oh Dio scolpito in ogni sasso il fallo mio / Segue subito l'Aria / volte // Cantoria 7.a / Aria / S.r Pedro / Demofonte / bbb C / Sono in mar / viola sola / Basso / voz // Da capo al segno // [blank]	voice [rec. with text], basso	[Misero me / Sono in mar]
[86r-86v]		Cantoria 4.a / S.ra Joaquina / Basso / Demofonte / 4.a / Largo / bbb C2/4 / Recv.o / C / Presto / C / Largo / C2/4 / Presto / C / Volte subito // Presto	basso	[Padre perdona]
[87r-87v]		Cantoria 5.a S.r Manoelinho / Tacet / Basso / Demofonte / All.o mod.o / C // [blank]	basso	[Vi conosco amate stelle]
[88r-89v]		Cantoria 7.a / Sn.ra Joaquina Paula / Basso / 7.a Cantoria / [initials] / Demofonte / 7.a / 7.a / 8.a 7.a / Largo / bbb C // [cont.] // Segue Aria All.o Spiritoso / b C // [cont.] // [blank]	voice [no text], basso	[Oimè che intesi mai / La nel torbido fiume di Lete]
[90r-92v]		Basso // Cantoria 8.a / S.ra Joaquina / Basso / Eurenne / C // [cont.] // [Aria] C12/8 // [cont.] // [cont.]	voice [no text], basso	[Dircea che fai / Se il ciel me divide]

[93r]		Cant. 4.a / Mezencio quando o amor / volte / 9.a / All.o no molto / \flat C [page canceled]	basso	
[93v-94v]		Cant. 5.a 10.a / Eneas e Lavinia / Demof.te / Cantoria 9.a / Rec.vo / Larg.to / $\flat\flat$ C // An.de Amoro / $\flat\flat\flat$ C3/4 / Segue / And.e Amoro.zo / $\flat\flat\flat$ C3/4 // Lavinia / Rec.vo / \flat C [canceled]	voice [no text], basso // basso	[Sposo / Consorte // La destra ti chiedo]
[95r-95v]		Basso / Un poco lento / C $\flat\flat\flat\flat$ ϕ / volte presto // And.e / 3/8 / Dal Segno	basso	[Misero pargoletto]
[96r-97v]		S.r Pedro / Basso / 10.a / Demofonte / 10.a / C / Recv.o / 10.a / Misero me qual gelido torrente mi ruina sul cor [etc.] // Fuggi, fuggi Timante agli occhi altrui nõ esporti mai più [etc.] // noi che mostruoso oggetto a'me stesso io di vengo! oh Dio l'a luce [etc.] // [blank]	voice, basso	Misero me
[98r-98v]		Cantoria 11.a / S.r Pedro / Basso / Demofonte / 11.a / Adagio / \flat C / Larghetto / C6/8 / Ad.o / C / Larghetto / C6/8 / volte prestssm.o // Al Segno	basso	[Figlia qualor ti miro]
[99r]		Cantoria 1.a / Demetrio / S.ra Joaquina / Demofonte / 1.a / And.no / $\sharp\sharp\sharp$ C2/4 / Sem cauzã me xama / voz	basso	[Ah torto spergiuro]
[99v-100v]		2.a / Eurene / Berenice / Cantabile / $\flat\flat\flat$ ϕ / [page canceled] // [blank page] // [blank page]	basso	
G-Prática 117				
117a; EMM 3, reel 60		Olá progetime / Basso // All.o assaij / \flat C / Ola / D.C.	basso	[Ola porgetemi]
117a; EMM 3, reel 60		Violetta / Olá progetime / All.o assaij / \flat C / ola / D.C. // [blank]	viola	[Ola porgetemi]
117a; EMM 3, reel 60		[end of recitative / beginning of aria] $\flat\flat\flat$ C / Volte // [cont. of aria] // Coro / And.e / $\sharp\sharp$ C3/4 / Fim // [blank]	voice [no text], basso / basso	[Me infelice] / [Ah si fugga] /

				
117c; EMM 3, reel 57		D. / Clarins / 3/4 / Em dia ditozo / Inconstancias da Fotuna // [cont.] // Coro / Em dia ditozo / Acompanham.to / [initials] / Inconstancias da Fortuna / And.e con motto / ## C3/4 // [blank]	trumpets // basso	
117d; EMM 3, reel 59		Aria da Snr.a Rozinha / Basso / ## C12/8 // [cont.]	basso	[Se il ciel me divide]
117d; EMM 3, reel 60		[Ah si fugga] bbb C / Volte // Cantoria 4.a Largo/ bbb C2/4 / voz / Recv.o / C / Presto / C / Largo / C2/4 / Presto / C // Cantoria 9.a / Rec.vo / Largo / bb C // And.e amoroza / bbb C3/4 / And.e amoroza / bbb C3/4 / Segue // [cont.] Volte p o Coro // [blank] // Coro / And.e / ## C3/4 / vozes // [blank]	basso	[Ah si fugga] / [Padre perdona] / [Sposo, Consorte] / [La destra ti chiedo]

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Revised August 7, 2016: p. 54n6, p. 57 (line 3), Table 1, Appendix 1 (mus. incipits of *cantoria* 11 and 12).

August 11, 2016: abstract (line 2), Table 1, Appendix 1 (eliminated round brackets).

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